

HEARST:—THE PRO-GERMAN BACKGROUND OF HIS NEWLY-FOUND PATRIOTISM

Editor's Opposition to Allies Undisguised and Unadorned Before U. S. Entered the War

By Kenneth Macgowan

THE story of Hears-s-s-st, Coiled in the Flag, as previous articles in this series have told it, has been largely the story of Hearst since America entered the war. Since April, 1917, his editorials have proved his attempts to keep American men, ships, food and money at home; to stir up distrust of the nations that have fought our battles, and to make peace at times favorable to Germany.

Since the courts to-day, in passing on the war record of an indicted editor or publisher, admit his writings and opinions prior to April 6, 1917, as evidence of the intent of his later propaganda it is competent to show on what foundation Hearst built the policies he has followed since we entered the war. The record of the first three years of the great struggle show that:

Hearst from the first made no attempt to disguise his vigorous pro-Germanism.

Hearst attacked bitterly nations that were fighting Germany.

Hearst opposed efforts of Americans to aid the Allies. Hearst condoned (when he did not deny) German crimes.

Hearst attempted to embroil this country with Britain for Germany's benefit.

Hearst tried to induce America to ignore international law in the interests of Germany.

Hearst worked unremittingly to prevent the United States from entering the war, and to bring about a premature peace to Germany's advantage.

The events of the last week of July and the first week of August, 1914, had much the same effect on William Randolph Hearst as on the rest of the world. For three weeks he seems to have had no conception of the colossal, stunning blow. During that time "The American" had only one thing to say—American merchant marine.

War Prosperity

Then, on August 22, Hearst woke up. He grasped the tremendous effect the war would have on American industry. And for a fortnight the word of "The American," frequently over Hearst's own signature, was like this:

August 22, 1914: "For the citizens of the United States, the war . . . means inevitable prosperity. . . . the United States will not suffer from the war that is devastating and demoralizing Europe.

"The United States will benefit immeasurably. . . .

"This war is a calamity for Europe. It will set Europe back many years in commercial competition with this country.—William Randolph Hearst."

On September 4—the eve of the Marne—Hearst awoke once again. This time it was to cry for peace—when German arms had reached their deepest penetration in France and were being forced back. That day "The American's" editorial page bore a message which, in some form or other, it carried periodically up to and even past the day of the American declaration of war:

"Let Us Have Peace—William Randolph Hearst."

Through the month of September, 1914, pleas for peace continued, illuminated by many of the sidelights which have penetrated even into America's first year of war—hatred of England, Japan as a bogey, excuses for Germany. Here are some samples:

September 5, 1914—"The Kaiser vehemently denies having brought on the war. His own speeches depict his agony and travail of mind as he witnessed the French preparations for aggression, and regretfully made up his mind that he must act in protection of a menaced Fatherland."

September 7—"The intrusion of Japan into the European war is a matter to excite the especial interest and attention of the American public."

"What was the secret and subterranean reason for Japan's action?"

"Obviously it is a very intimate and strongly binding alliance with Great Britain, an alliance so binding that when Great Britain attacked Germany, Japan was compelled by the terms of the alliance to attack Germany also."

"An alliance which compels Japan to support England in a war which England is prosecuting against Germany very obviously would compel Great Britain to support Japan in a war which Japan might prosecute against the United States."

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

September 10—"Truly, as Kipling says, 'The Hun is at the gate,' but the Hun comes not, nor ever has come, from Germany, nor from any part of Europe, but will come, as he has come in the past, in successive, almost irresistible tides of invasion from the interior of Asia."

"That is a fearful prospect for you as Englishmen and for us as Americans."

"The only way surely to stop these appalling possibilities is promptly and positively to stop the war."

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

September 13 (full page in three colors)—"When They Get Through—"

"Europe is committing hari-kari on the doorsteps of Asia."

"Germany and Austria stand and have stood for ages as the first line of Europe's defence against the invading hordes of Asia."

"What good will it do England and France and Belgium to weaken their first and chief protection against the invading hordes of Asia?"

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

Two Ways to Work Neutrality

The next element in the Hearst campaign is neutrality. There are two angles to it. First—

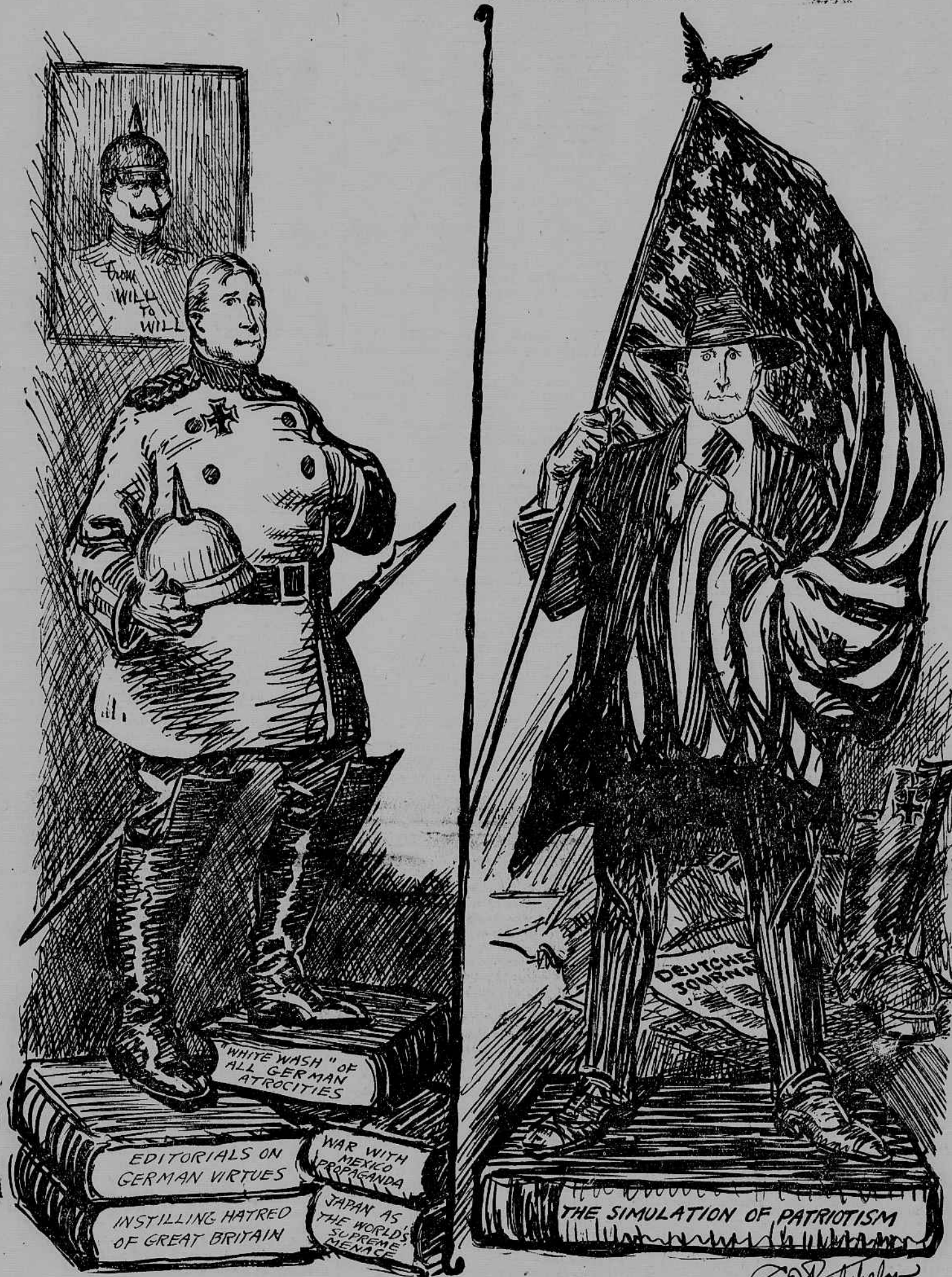
October 18, 1914—"We are bound in this country of neutrality to refrain from taking sides. But, WHAT SIDE IS THERE TO TAKE?"

Second—

November 18—"The Entertaining Fiction of Our Strict Neutrality."

"There is a growing feeling that the neutrality of this Administration is more a matter of sound than of substance. . . .

THE DISGUISED(?) MR. HEARS-S-S-T



"Mr. Wilson's type of neutrality may be insinuating, but it is not convincing."

Two days later, under the heading, "The Collapsed Mexican Policy," appeared the beginning of a long campaign to turn America's thoughts away from Europe.

Early in December Hearst began his fight to keep American food, money and munitions at home. He began with charities—

November 30—"Stop Sending Money to Europe Until We Feed America First."

December 5—"Starving Man Finds Work. How? Begging for Belgium."

December 6—"Plenty of Poor at Home, Mr. Goodman."

"Sensational charity gives to Europe, where men are committing wholesale murder."

"Dull-minded charity sends money abroad."

"REAL CHARITY thinks first of the brothers and sisters at home."

Very early in 1915 Hearst began attacking England for her attitude toward our shipping. That it was not criticism upon the same plane of justice as America's own notes of protest may be judged from the bitterness of tone, from the fact that he invariably coupled such criticism to any discussion of Germany's unlawful submarine warfare, and from the attitude he took toward that warfare:

January 25—"Our Secretary of State as Defender of Britain."

"The people of the United States are desperately tired of the Administration's attitude of humility and servility, of concession at every point and recession on every position taken."

February 18—"Grave Danger to Germany."

"Speaking generally, the whole of the English Channel and the North Sea constitute, in fact, a 'war zone,' not because the German authorities have so proclaimed it, but because the conditions of war have made it so. Floating mines, of which both parties to this war have made lavish use, know no neutrals."

"If a derelict mine, whatever its origin, blows up a neutral ship, the offense will instantly be laid to Germany, for she alone has threatened neutral shipping in those waters with destruction."

"It is reported that Berlin apprehends that the British navy may wantonly blow up some American vessel, with the idea that the crime will be laid to Germany and the United States dragged into the war on the Allies' side. The suggestion is not as melodramatic as it sounds."

Very shortly Hearst came out for the revision of international law to permit Germany unrestricted use of submarines—

February 24—"Where Both England and Germany Are in Error."

"But the Germans have just enough of justice on their side to emphasize the need of a new chapter of international law which shall deal with the employment of submarines and mines."

"The neutral nations, led by the United States, must begin the writing of that chapter now."

The Lusitania's Own Fault

Of the sinking of the Lusitania and the events that followed "The American" said:

May 10, 1915—"How small a company, amid the millions of souls of men and women and children who have died in torment since this war began, are the sad ghosts of the Lusitania's slain! How few are they amid the innumerable hosts of Europe's dead!"

May 11, 1915—"The Lusitania incident in itself is, of course, no cause for a declaration of war."

May 14, 1915—"THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE TO GERMANY.—The President's letter is undeniably vigorous, BUT IT IS POSSIBLY DANGEROUS AS WELL. The nation desired that its rightful demands should be laid before the German government, but it did not anticipate that the President would go so far beyond the plainly and soundly rightful scope of those demands as to invite a rebuff. . . . The President goes on practically to protest against the use of submarines by Germany in the war that country is waging on British commerce."

May 16, 1915—"Can We Limit the Use of Submarines in War?"

May 20, 1915—"We have no right to question GERMANY'S USE OF SUBMARINES IN HER WARFARE UPON BRITISH COMMERCE."

June 1, 1915—"Fair-minded men will not be intolerant of the German inquiry into the status of the Lusitania. That vessel WAS on the roster of the British navy as an auxiliary. She was built according to Admiralty plans, enjoyed a subsidy and was subject to a call to the fleet in time of war. The Germans claim she was armed—our officials deny it. The Germans claim she carried munitions of war—we claim the small-arm cartridges she carried have not been so classed. . . . Yet if both these disputed points be settled in

His True Colors Shown in Days Before Patriotic Camouflage Was Forced Upon Him

our favor, it still remains true that the Lusitania was to Germany an enemy vessel subject to capture and destruction."

June 6, 1915—"Let Us Have Peace with Honor—If That Be Possible."

"In our first note to Germany we demanded many things which we had every right to demand, but we sought to intrude other things which were beyond our rights either of exaction or suggestion."

"LET US STAND FIRMLY IN DEFENCE OF OUR JUST RIGHTS, EVEN THOUGH WE MUST MAINTAIN THEM BY FORCE OF ARMS, BUT LET US NOT PRECIPITATE THE COUNTRY INTO AN UNNECESSARY WAR BY GOING BEYOND OUR OWN RIGHTS AND DEMANDING THE PRIVILEGE OF DICTATING TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN MATTERS WHICH HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED THE DEFINITION AND SANCTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW."

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

June 9—"Mr. Bryan's Resignation and Its Significance."

"Many who have been little in sympathy with Mr. Bryan will applaud the devotion to principle that has led him to cut clear from a policy which he justly apprehends may end in war."

"Mr. Bryan has been keenly alive to the injustice and the danger of that sort of neutrality which consists of asking one thing of Germany and another thing of the Allies."

In the two months that followed the sinking of the Lusitania such cautions to the President alternated with fervid appeals to America to bring peace in Europe. But it was not until June 26, 1915, that Hearst found an immediate and practical method of securing peace—the embargo on arms and munitions. On April 7 of that year "The American" had printed an editorial defence of "Why we sell arms to warring nations." Before the summer was far advanced it had changed its mind—

June 26—"The magnificent gathering of people at Madison Square Garden Thursday night to hear Mr. Bryan and other speakers in the cause of peace compels attention and respect."

"It justified, if justification were needed, 'The American's' insistence that this nation, as a whole, is for peace."

"This impressive meeting of the 'Friends of Peace' was organized by citizens of foreign birth or foreign parentage."

"The assembled thousands, with wild enthusiasm, adopted a series of resolutions the chief among which was one declaring that THE INTERESTS OF THIS COUNTRY AND OF HUMANITY DEMAND AN EMBARGO ON THE EXPORTATION OF ARMS."

"It is no longer a question of the legality of American shipments of arms."

"The ethics of the case and the law differ widely."

"If this nation as a whole is as sincerely committed to the cause of peace as it pretends to be it ought not to be taking money for providing the belligerents abroad with murderous weapons of war. If we are going to stand merely on our technical rights, we can send arms and munitions abroad, but let us then stop prating about our deep devotion to the cause of peace."

Meeting Germany's Needs As They Arose

The delay of Hearst in recognizing the importance to Germany of an embargo on munitions was soon fully accounted for in "The American"—

July 18—"The Customs House figures, which are always substantially accurate, show that only an infinitesimal part of the ammunition ordered in this country has been delivered."

"And the very small quantity already delivered has probably had little effect upon the war thus far, as it is less than 2 per cent of our total exports."

"The enormous contracts for arms made with the belligerents call for shipments in August and run three years."

It was, therefore, natural that August should be reserved for a heavy drive on munitions in "The American." It involved many methods of approach—

August 11—"Let Us Promote the World's Peace, Not Promote the World's Warfare."

"President Wilson, this newspaper, moved by a heartfelt concern for the welfare of the world, and speaking, it believes, the sentiments of many millions of our fellow citizens, makes this direct appeal to you to use your personal influence and the powers and authority of your great office to put an end to the exportation of arms and munitions of war intended to kill men and devastate cities and villages and fields and homes in unhappy Europe."

August 19—"If We Cannot Supply Ourselves with Arms in Time of War, Why Not Supply Ourselves Now?"

"According to the statement of the Administration only recently made to a foreign power, and a possible future enemy, the United States, under present conditions, could not supply its soldiers with enough guns and ammunition to carry on a war."

"President Wilson, if our nation is so inadequately supplied with arms as to be at the mercy of a foreign foe, the obvious thing to do, the only sane and even semi-statesmanlike thing to do, is to keep our arms at home and SUPPLY OUR OWN NEEDS FIRST."

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

August 25—"England Has Stopped Our Shipment of Cotton. Should We Stop Our Shipment of Arms?"

A similar contradiction occurred in the Hearst campaign against foreign loans by American bankers. After a series of editorials on "the almighty American dollar," filled with exultation over the wealth we were amassing and the fact that Europe would have to borrow from us in order to cover the balance against her, "The American" remarked, on September 14, with no perceptible jubilation, that "Without American money Europe must stop fighting," and explained that—

"We shall hear a great deal of talk about the 'war loan' in the next few weeks on the ground of neutrality, and some of the bankers who are willing to invest their surplus funds in the loan will have a good many bad quarters of an hour with some of the wealthy German or pro-German directors who OBJECT TO ANY FINANCING TO SUPPLY EVEN FOOD AND CLOTHING TO THE ALLIES."

"But unless this loan is arranged Europe will not have food or clothing enough for her population, and she WILL ALSO HAVE TO STOP FIGHTING."

A week later the meaning of this had sunk in, and "The American" came out against the loan—

September 21—"At this moment accredited representatives of

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